

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION II.

Department of Political Science
Central European University
Winter 2018
2 credits, Master Level

Classes: Tuesday

Instructor: Marina Popescu (mpope at ceu.edu)

Office hours: Wednesday 11:00-13:00 and by appointment.

Course objectives

This MA-level course provides an overview of the main topics, approaches, and methodologies in the study of political communication. It explores the range of actors involved in political communication and how the information flows between them matter for democratic politics.

We critically examine key concepts used in lay and academic discussions to identify problems, causes and consequences in the political communication domain such as democratic performance of the media, media vs. political logic, mediatization, public sphere, media system characteristics, pluralism, polarization, fragmentation, information quality, political bias, accuracy, media effects, agenda setting, priming, framing, gatekeeping.

Each week we shall disentangle the interactions between citizens, mass media, and political actors in the production, transmission, and reception of political messages with a different analytical focus, which is indicated in the topic description for the week. We look at how these interactions depend on the characteristics of each of the three, and on contextual, societal and political differences. We will reflect on how these issues travel to the digital environment and how the changes brought by the internet link up to the fundamental questions about how citizens can make sense of politics and relate to democratic political processes.

The course provides students with a postgraduate-level understanding of:

- selected concepts and research methods in political communication, political marketing, and election campaign studies;
- current techniques used by political and social actors in traditional media as well as online political communication; and
- critical perspectives on and issues in political communication, political marketing, and election campaigns.

Learning outcomes

- Appropriate level understanding and critical review of the social science literature in the field of political communication.
- Conceptual frames and research skills for the analysis of political communication; ability to assess a range of theories and methods
- Foundations to compare and contrast the role and impact of media and communication in politics and political processes in different settings
- Skills to identify and analyze media framing and agenda setting as well as campaign and information effects on public opinion
- Apply theories and methods to developments and issues not specifically covered by the course

Course format and requirements

The course will alternate short lectures, students' presentations, and exercises, and will link big theoretical and normative questions with real world examples.

Class participation is essential as interactivity and learning from each other are at the core of what should be an enjoyable and not just useful experience. Active participation involves comments and questions based on the required literature, the lecture, and the presentations. Attendance is your responsibility but class participation is likely to be essential for the successful completion of the course not least because the final exam paper will include topics discussed in class but not covered by the mandatory readings.

Course assessment

35 % - Presentations

Students need to give a presentation on a topic to be covered in class based on background / recommended readings, internet searches, and the required readings. Clear guidelines for preparing and delivering these presentations will be discussed during the first class of the course. Students need to prepare handouts for the presentations. Handouts will represent 50% of the grade on presentations, and final revised versions have to be submitted before the end of the term.

Late submission policy – Materials not received before the class following the deadlines announced on e-learning cannot be submitted later unless there is a compelling and documented reason.

15 % - Class participation

Grading will take into consideration the active and meaningful participation of students in class discussions. It is essential that you make your contributions in a constructive way, based on a careful and critical reading of all required materials, and facilitating that everyone in class gets involved in a civil and focused discussion.

10 % - Exercises

Individual and group exercises will be assigned for some of the classes. The frequency and content of the exercises depends on the number of students registered. The aim of the exercises is to apply key concepts from readings and cases presented in class to similar examples and real-life problems that students should be able to critically analyze. Detailed instructions for exercises will be given prior to the tasks.

40% Final exam (in-class open book)

The exam will include 1) a few questions that require very brief answers on definitions or basic concepts and 2) one question that refers to more than one concept. For the analytical question the answer is supposed to be a concise, well written essay (you can use examples in the essay that are not only based on the assigned readings). Your answer will have to incorporate a tight argument while evaluating different positions from the scholarly literature.

The final exam will take place in week 12.

Required preliminary readings

To ensure that we have a basic common ground in class, please make sure you understand well the topics and concepts in the following readings, which you can consult at your own pace:

- Sparks, Glenn G. 2016. *Media Effects Research: A Basic Overview* (5th edition). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing.
- McNair, Brian. 2017. *Introduction to Political Communication* (3rd edition). London: Routledge.
- Curran, James. ed. 2010. *Media and society* (5th edition). London: Bloomsbury.

Recommended general readings for the course:

- Bruce A. Williams and Michael X. Delli Carpini, eds. 2011. *After Broadcast News - Media Regimes, Democracy and the New Information Environment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Esser, Frank and Barbara Pfetsch, eds. 2004. *Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases, and Challenges*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gunther, Richard, and Anthony Mughan, eds. 2000. *Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Johnston, Richard, Michael G. Hagen, Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 2004. *The 2000 Presidential Election and the Foundations of Party Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hallin, Daniel C. And Paolo Mancini. 2004. *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hallin, Daniel C. and Paolo Mancini, eds. 2011. *Comparing Media Systems beyond the Western World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Iyengar, Shanto, and Richard Reeves, eds. 1997. *Do the Media Govern? Politicians, Voters, and Reporters in America*. London: Sage.
- Jakubowicz, Karol and Miklós Sükösd, eds. 2008. *Finding the Right Place on the Map: Central and Eastern European Media Change in a Global Perspective*. Bristol, UK: Intellect Books; Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.
- Kaid, Lynda Lee, ed. 2004. *Handbook of Political Communication Research*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Mazzoleni, Gianpietro Julianne Stewart, and Bruce Horsfield, eds. 2003. *The Media and Neopopulism: A Contemporary Comparative Analysis*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- McQuail, Denis, Doris A. Graber and Pippa Norris. 2007. *The Politics of News: The News of Politics*, 2nd ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Negrine, Ralph and James Staney, eds. 2007. *The Political Communication Reader*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Norris, Pippa. 2000. *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-Industrial Democracies*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, Pippa ed. 2009. *Public Sentinel: News Media and Governance Reform*. Washington, DC: World Bank. Available online
<http://issuu.com/world.bank.publications/docs/9780821382004?mode=embed&layout=http://skin.issuu.com/v/light/layout.xml&showFlipBtn=true>
or
<http://www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/pnorris/Books/Public%20Sentinel.htm>
- Voltmer, Katrin, ed. 2006. *Mass Media and Political Communication in New Democracies*. London: Routledge.

COURSE STRUCTURE AND MANDATORY READINGS

Note:

The readings, including the mandatory ones (marked*), will be revised following the experience in the fall course. At all times, the most up-to-date version of the syllabus shall be posted on the e-learning site. Further recommended readings for specific topics will be provided throughout the course, including scholarly review articles, classic and state-of-the art research papers, and theoretically or practically relevant non-academic works when appropriate.

TOPIC 1: The arenas and boundaries of politically relevant communication. What makes for ‘good’ information from various normative and empirical perspectives? The main actors, concerns, regulatory arenas and public goods at stake in shaping media systems (Week 1)

- *Kees Brants and Katrin Voltmer, eds., 2011. *Political Communication in Postmodern Democracy, Challenging the Primacy of Politics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1-19.
 - *Bruce A. Williams and Michael X. Delli Carpini, eds. 2011. *After Broadcast News. Media Regimes, Democracy and the New Information Environment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 51-103 (chapter 3).
- or (you choose which version of the authors’ text you read):
- *Bruce A. Williams and Michael X. Delli Carpini. 2010. “Media Regimes and Democracy.” in *Media and Society* (5th edition), edited by James Curran. London: Bloomsbury (chapter 15).
 - McNair, Brian. 2017. “Politics in the Age of Mediation” and “Politics, Democracy and the Media”. in *An Introduction to Political Communication* (6th edition). London: Routledge (chapters 1 and 2).
 - Pfetsch, Barbara. 2004. “From Political Culture to Political Communications Culture: A Theoretical Approach to Comparative Analysis 2004.” In *Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases, and Challenges*, edited by Frank Esser, Barbara Pfetsch. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press (chapter 15).
 - Pfetsch, Barbara and Frank Esser. 2012. “Comparing Political Communication.” in *Handbook of Comparative Communication Research*, edited by Frank Esser and Thomas Hanitzsch. New York and Oxford: Routledge (chapter 2).
 - Zaller, John. 2003. "A New Standard of News Quality: Burglar Alarms for the Monitorial Citizen." *Political Communication* 20 (April-June): 109-130.
 - Aelst, Peter Van, Jesper Strömbäck, Toril Aalberg, Frank Esser, Claes de Vreese, Jörg Matthes, David Hopmann, et al. 2017. “Political Communication in a High-Choice Media Environment: A Challenge for Democracy?” *Annals of the International Communication Association* 41 (1): 3–27.

TOPIC 2: What makes it into the information flow: gatekeepers, selection mechanisms, priorities. Structural determinants of the availability of ‘good’ information in mass media

Week 2: News values. Journalistic norms, media logic and media economics.

- *Hamilton, James T. 2004. *All the News that's Fit to Sell. How the Market Transforms Information into News*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press (chapter 1).
- *Helfer, L., & Aelst, P. V. 2016. “What Makes Party Messages Fit for Reporting? An Experimental Study of Journalistic News Selection.” *Political Communication* 33(1), 59–77.
- Shoemaker, Pamela J., and Stephen D. Reese. 2013. *Mediating the Message in the 21st Century: A Media Sociology Perspective*. London: Routledge, chapter 2.
- Haselmayer, Martin, Wagner, Markus, & Meyer, Thomas M. 2017. “Partisan Bias in Message Selection: Media Gatekeeping of Party Press Releases.” *Political Communication* 34(3), 367-384.
- Schudson, Michael. 2010. “Four Approached to the Sociology of News Revisited.” in *Media and Society* (5th edition), ed. by James Curran. London: Bloomsbury (chapter 9).
- Hardy, Jonathan. 2010. “The Contribution of Critical Political Economy.” in *Media and Society* (5th edition), ed. by James Curran. London: Bloomsbury (chapter 10).
- David Levy, David A. L. and Rasmus Kleis Nielsen, eds., 2010. *The Changing Business of Journalism and its Implications for Democracy*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
- Hanitzsch, T., Hanusch, F., Mellado, C., Anikina, M., Berganza, R., Cangoz, I., & Virginia Moreira, S. 2011. “Mapping Journalism Cultures across Nations: A Comparative Study of 18 Countries.” *Journalism Studies* 12(3), 273-293.
- Stetka, V. 2012. “From Multinationals to Business Tycoons Media Ownership and Journalistic Autonomy in Central and Eastern Europe.” *International Journal of Press/Politics* 17(4), 433–456.
- Stetka, V., & Örnebring, H. 2013. “Investigative Journalism in Central and Eastern Europe Autonomy, Business Models, and Democratic Roles.” *International Journal of Press/Politics* 18(4), 413-435.

Week 3. Media system characteristics and their relevance for the emergence of an informed citizenry.

- *Stuart Soroka et al., 2013. “Auntie Knows Best? Public Broadcasters and Current Affairs Knowledge.” *British Journal of Political Science* 43(4), 1-35.
- *Hallin, Daniel C. and Paolo Mancini. “Western Media Systems in Comparative Perspective.” in *Media and Society* (5th edition), ed. by James Curran. London: Bloomsbury (chapter 6).
- James Curran, Shanto Iyengar, Anker Brink Lund, and Inka Salovaara-Moring, 2009. “Media System, Public Knowledge and Democracy: A Comparative Study.” *European Journal of Communication* 24(1), 5-26.
- Chris Hanretty, 2010. “Explaining the De Facto Independence of Public Broadcasters.” *British Journal of Political Science* 40 (1), 75-89.
- Bruce A. Williams and Michael X. Delli Carpini, eds. 2011. *After Broadcast News - Media Regimes, Democracy and the New Information Environment*, Cambridge University Press, 135-167 (chapter 5), 168-221 (chapter 6).
- Orchard, Ximena. 2017. “Precarious Balance: How Journalists Negotiate Notions of Auton-

- omy in the Trade-off with Political Actors.” *Journalism Practice*, 1-18.
- Nielsen, R. K. 2013. “The Absence of Structural Americanization Media System Developments in Six Affluent Democracies, 2000–2009.” *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 18(4), 392-412.
- Marina Popescu et al. 2010, 2013. “European Media Systems Survey.” Data sets. Colchester: University of Essex and Bucharest: Median Research Centre. URL: www.mediasystemsineurope.org

TOPIC 3. Political logic vs. media logic. The changing relationship between media and political actors (parties, interest groups, political movements) Political actors fight back: Spin, open government and direct communication. (Weeks 4 and 5)

- *Kees Brants and Katrin Voltmer, eds., 2011. *Political Communication in Postmodern Democracy, Challenging the Primacy of Politics*, Palgrave Macmillan, 126-145.
- *Pfetsch, Barbara, Peter Maurer, Eva Mayerhöffer, and Tom Moring. 2014. "A Hedge between Keeps Friendship Green — Concurrence and Conflict between Politicians and Journalists in Nine European Democracies." In *Comparing Political Communication across Time and Space: New Studies in an Emerging Field*, edited by Maria José Canal and Katrin Voltmer. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 172-191.
- Strömbäck, J. 2008. “Four Phases of Mediatization: An Analysis of the Mediatization of Politics.” *International Journal of Press/Politics* 13 (3), 228-246.
- Haßler, Jörg, Maurer, Marcus, & Oschatz, Corinna. 2014. “Media Logic and Political Logic Online and Offline: The Case of Climate Change Communication.” *Journalism Practice*, 8(3), 326-341.
- Peleg, Anat, & Bogoch, Bryna. 2014. “Mediatization, Legal Logic and the Coverage of Israeli Politicians on Trial.” *Journalism Practice* 8(3), 311-325.
- Sampert, Shannon, Trimble, Linda, Wagner, Angelia, & Gerrits, Bailey. 2014. “Jumping the Shark: Mediatization of Canadian Party Leadership Contests, 1975–2012.” *Journalism Practice* 8(3), 279-294.
- Seethaler, Josef, & Melischek, Gabriele. 2014. “Phases of Mediatization: Empirical Evidence from Austrian Election Campaigns since 1970.” *Journalism Practice*, 8(3), 258-278.
- Amsalem, Eran, Sheaffer, Tamir, Walgrave, Stefaan, Loewen, Peter John, & Soroka, Stuart N. 2017. “Media Motivation and Elite Rhetoric in Comparative Perspective.” *Political Communication* 34(3), 385-403.
- Gibson, Rachel, Greffet, Fabienne, & Cantijoch, Marta. 2017. “Friend or Foe? Digital Technologies and the Changing Nature of Party Membership.” *Political Communication* 34(1), 89-111.
- Bartle, John. 2002. “New Labour and the Media.” in *Britain at the Polls 2005*, ed. by John Bartle and Anthony King. New York: Congressional Quarterly Press.
- Quinn, Thomas. 2012. “Spin Doctors and News Management: A Rational Choice Exchange Analysis.” *British Politics* 7, 272-300.

TOPIC 4: Communication effects. The place of message and recipient characteristics. The state of evidence and research methods on agenda-setting, priming, framing, learning and persuasion effects. Information and misinformation. (Weeks 6, 7 & 8)

* *Students will choose 6 required readings from the list below (in its incarnation in week 1) and selected to cover the range of communication effects covered by the class and readings. A per topic selection will be discussed in week 1. The list of readings below is for your information. It will be updated and readings for presentations will be discussed with the instructor.*

** *Presentations for this topic will be of two types: summaries of theories/types of effects that could work as a handbook entry on the topic and presentations of a particular interesting/ important issue such as the contingent nature of effects on individual citizen characteristics or on political context characteristics.*

*Iyengar, Shanto. 2010. "The State of Media-Effects Research." *Media and Society* (5th edition), ed. by James Curran. London: Bloomsbury (chapter 14).

Jason Barabas and Jennifer Jerit, 2009. "Estimating the Causal Effects of Media Coverage on Policy-Specific Knowledge." *The American Journal of Political Science*, 53(1), 73-89

Zaller, John. 1996. "The Myth of Massive Media Impact Revived: New Support for a Discredited Idea." In *Political Persuasion and Attitude Change*, edited by Diana C. Mutz, Paul M. Sniderman and Richard A. Brody. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 17-78.

Green-Pedersen, Christoffer, Mortensen, Peter B, & Thesen, Gunnar. 2017. "The Incumbency Bonus Revisited: Causes and Consequences of Media Dominance." *British Journal of Political Science* 47(1), 131-148.

Seth J. Hill, James Lo, Lynn Vavreck and John Zaller, 2013. "How Quickly We Forget: The Duration of Persuasion Effects from Mass Communication." *Political Communication* 30(4), 521 – 547.

Agenda-setting, priming

Shanto Iyengar, Mark D. Peters and Donald R. Kinder, 1982. "Experimental Demonstrations of the "Not-so-Minimal" Consequences of television News Programs." *American Political Science Review* 76(4), 848-858.

Stefaan Walgrave, Stuart Soroka and Michiel Nuytermans, 2007. "The Mass Media's Political Agenda-Setting Power. A Longitudinal Analysis of Media, Parliament, and Government in Belgium (1993 to 2000)." *Comparative Politics Studies* 41(6), 814-836.

Shehata, A., & Strömbäck, J. 2013. "Not (Yet) a New Era of Minimal Effects A Study of Agenda Setting at the Aggregate and Individual Levels." *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 18(2), 234-255.

Giebler, Heiko, Kritzinger, Sylvia, Xezonakis, Georgios, & Banducci, Susan. 2017. "Priming Europe: Media effects on loyalty, voice and exit in European Parliament elections." *Acta Politica* 52(1), 110-132.

Matthews, J Scott. 2017. "Issue Priming Revisited: Susceptible Voters and Detectable Effects." *British Journal of Political Science* (First View).

Framing

Frank Baumgartner, Suzanna Linn, and Amber E. Boydston, 2010. "The Decline of the Death Penalty: How Media Framing Changed Capital Punishment in America." in *Winning with Words: The Origins and Impact of Framing*, ed. by Brian F. Schaffner and Patrick J. Sellers. New York: Routledge, 159-184.

- Hänggli, R., & Kriesi, H. 2010. "Political Framing Strategies and Their Impact on Media Framing in a Swiss Direct-Democratic Campaign." *Political Communication* 27(2), 141–157. <http://doi.org/10.1080/10584600903501484>
- Cacciatore, M. A., Scheufele, D. A., & Iyengar, S. 2016. "The End of Framing as we Know it ... and the Future of Media Effects." *Mass Communication and Society* 19(1), 7–23. <http://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2015.1068811>
- Druckman, James N. 2009. "What's it all about? Framing in Political Science." In *Perspectives on Framing*, ed. by Gideon Keren. New York: Psychology Press / Taylor & Francis.
- Dennis Chong and James N. Druckman, 2013. "Counterframing Effects." *Journal of Politics* 75(1), 1-16.
- Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. 2007. "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models." *Journal of Communication* 57, 9-20.

Cumulative effects. Uses and gratification

- David Sanders, David Marsh, and Hugh Ward, 1993. "The Electoral Impact of Press Coverage of the British Economy, 1979-87." *British Journal of Political Science* 23(2), 175-210.

Choice availability, selectivity and their consequences

Bias. Selectivity. Attention. Polarization

- Jerit, Jennifer, and Jason Barabas. 2012. "Partisan Perceptual Bias and the Information Environment." *Journal of Politics* 74, 672-84
- Prior, Markus. 2013. "Media and Political Polarization." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16, 101-127.
- Prior, Markus. 2007. *Post-Broadcast Democracy: How Media Choice Increases Inequality in Political Involvement and Polarizes Elections*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Iyengar, Shanto, and Kyu S. Hahn. 2009. "Red Media, Blue Media: Evidence of Ideological Selectivity in Media Use." *Journal of Communication* 59 (1): 19-39.
- Garrett, R. Kelly et al. 2013. "A Turn Toward Avoidance? Selective Exposure to Online Political Information, 2004-2008." *Political Behavior* 35 (1), 113-134
- Blekesaune, Arild, Eiri Elvestad and Toril Aalberg 2012. "Tuning out the World of News and Current Affairs—An Empirical Study of Europe's Disconnected Citizens." *European Sociological Review* 28(1): 110–126.
- Stroud, Natalie Jomini. 2017. "Attention as a Valuable Resource." *Political Communication* 34(3), 479-489.

Media malaise. Anti-politics. Anti-democratic?

- Newton, Kenneth. 1999. "Mass Media Effects: Mobilization or Media Malaise?" *British Journal of Political Science* 28: 577-599.
- Curran, James, Sharon Coen, Stuart Soroka, Toril Aalberg, Kaori Hayashi, Zira Hichy, Shanto Iyengar, Paul Jones, Gianpietro Mazzoleni, Stylianos Papathanassopoulos, June Woong Rhee, Hernando Rojas, David Rowe, and Rod Tiffen. 2014. "Reconsidering 'Virtuous Circle' and 'Media Malaise' Theories of the Media: An 11-Nation Study." *Journalism* 15 (7): 815-833

Two-step flow – interpersonal

- Anspach, Nicolas M. 2017. "The New Personal Influence: How Our Facebook Friends Influence the News We Read." *Political Communication* (First View).

- Schmitt-Beck, Rudiger. 2004. "Political Communication Effects: The Impact of Mass Media and Personal Conversations on Voting." In *Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases, and Challenges*, edited by Frank Esser, Barbara Pfetsch. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Mutz, Diana C., and Paul S. Martin. 2001. "Facilitating Communication across Lines of Political Differences: The Role of Mass Media." *American Political Science Review* 95 (1): 97-114.
- Barnidge, Matthew. 2017. "Exposure to Political Disagreement in Social Media Versus Face-to-Face and Anonymous Online Settings." *Political Communication* 34(2), 302-321.
- Brundidge, Jennifer. 2010. "Encountering 'Difference' in the Contemporary Public Sphere: The Contribution of the Internet to the Heterogeneity of Political Discussion Networks." *Journal of Communication* 60, 680-700.

TOPIC 5. Election campaigns and their impact from normative and empirical perspectives. The complex effects of advertisements and negativity. Big data and micro-targeting. Misinformation and disinformation (Weeks 9, 10, 11)

- *3-4 required readings can be chosen such as to cover as wide a range of issues covered by the class and readings. Note that now the readings are ordered alphabetically and there is no mention of topic/question. A per topic selection will be discussed in week 1.*
- **analytical newspaper and magazine articles as well as interviews with practitioners will be used for in class discussions, presentations and exercises. More details will be added in due course.*

- Allcott, Hunt, & Gentzkow, Matthew. 2017. "Social Media and Fake News in the 2016 Election." Washington, DC: National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Baek, Mijeong 2009. "A Comparative Analysis of Political Communication Systems and Voter Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(2), 376-393.
- Ballard, Andrew O., D. Sunshine Hillygus, and Tobias Konitzer. 2016. "Campaigning Online: Web Display Ads in the 2012 Presidential Campaign." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 49 (03): 414-419.
- Barnidge, Matthew and Hernando Rojas. 2014. "Hostile Media Perceptions, Presumed Media Influence, and Political Talk: Expanding the Corrective Action Hypothesis." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 26 (2), 135-156
- Casero-Ripollés, A., Feenstra, R. A., & Tormey, S. 2016. "Old and New Media Logics in an Electoral Campaign: The Case of Podemos and the Two-Way Street Mediatization of Politics." *International Journal of Press/Politics* 21(3), 378-397.
- Coleman, Stephen, & Moss, Giles. 2016. "Rethinking Election Debates: What Citizens Are Entitled to Expect." *International Journal of Press/Politics* 21(1), 3-24.
- Fridkin, K., Kenney, P. J., & Wintersieck, A. 2015. "Liar, Liar, Pants on Fire: How Fact-Checking Influences Citizens' Reactions to Negative Advertising." *Political Communication* 32(1), 127-151.
- Gabriel Lenz and Chappell Lawson, 2011. "Looking the Part: Television Leads Less Informed Citizens to Vote Based on Candidates' Appearance." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(3), 574-589.
- Gilens, Martin, Lynn Vavreck, and Martin Cohen, 2007. "The Mass Media and the Public's Assessments of Presidential Candidates, 1952–2000." *Journal of Politics* 59(4), 1160–1175.
- Gottfried, Jeffrey A, Hardy, Bruce W, Holbert, R Lance, Winneg, Kenneth M, & Jamieson,

- Kathleen Hall. 2017. "The Changing Nature of Political Debate Consumption: Social Media, Multitasking, and Knowledge Acquisition." *Political Communication* 34(2), 172-199.
- Gross, Justin H., and Kaylee T. Johnson. 2016. "Twitter Taunts and Tirades: Negative Campaigning in the Age of Trump." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 49 (4), 748-754.
- Hardy, Bruce W. and Dietram A. Scheufele. 2009. "Presidential Campaign Dynamics and the Ebb and Flow of Talk as a Moderator: Media Exposure, Knowledge, and Political Discussion." *Communication Theory* 19, 89-101.
<http://journalistsresource.org/studies/politics/ads-public-opinion/negative-political-ads-effects-voters-research-roundup>
- Iyengar, Shanto, Kyu S. Hahn, Jon A. Krosnick, and John Walker, 2008. "Selective Exposure to Campaign Communication: The Role of Anticipated Agreement and Issue Public Membership." *Journal of Politics* 70(1), 186–200.
- Johnston, Richard, Michael G. Hagen, Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 2004. *The 2000 Presidential Election and the Foundations of Party Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kim, Young Mie. 2009. "Issue Publics in the New Information Environment: Selectivity, Domain Specificity, and Extremity." *Communication Research* 36(2), 254-284.
- Lawson, Chappell, Gabriel S. Lenz, Andy Baker and Michael Myers, 2010. "Looking Like a Winner. Candidate Appearance and Electoral Success in New Democracies." *World Politics* 62(4), 561-93.
- Lilleker, D. G., Tenscher, J., & Štětka, V. 2015. "Towards Hypermedia Campaigning? Perceptions of New Media's Importance for Campaigning by Party Strategists in Comparative Perspective." *Information, Communication & Society* 18(7), 747–765.
- Lipsitz, Keena, et al., 2005. "What Voters Want from Political Campaign Communication." *Political Communication* 22(3), 337-354.
- Martin, Gregory J., and Zachary Peskowitz. 2012. "Career Concerns and the Behavior of Political Consultants in Congressional Elections" Paper presented at the 2012 Midwestern Political Science Association.
- Morey, Alyssa C. 2017. "Memory for Positive and Negative Political TV Ads: The Role of Partisanship and Gamma Power." *Political Communication* 34(3), 404-423.
- Nai, Alessandro, and Annemarie Walter, eds. 2015. *New Perspectives on Negative Campaigning: Why Attack Politics Matters*. London: ECPR Press.
- Norris, Pippa et al., 1999. *On Message: Communicating the Campaign*. London: Sage.
- Norris, Pippa, and David Sanders, 2003. "Message or Medium? Campaign Learning During the 2001 British General Election." *Political Communication* 20(3), 233-262
- Richard Lau and Ivy Brown Rover, "Negative Campaigning." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12, 2009, 285-306
- Schemer, Christian. 2012. "Reinforcing Spirals of Negative Affects and Selective Attention to Advertising in a Political Campaign." *Communication Research* 39 (3), 413-434.
- Sides, John, Keena Lipsitz and Matthew Grossmann, 2010. "Do Voters Perceive Negative Campaigns as Informative Campaigns?" *American Politics Research* 38(3), 502-530
- Stevenson, Randolph T., and Lynn Vavreck. 2000. "Does Campaign Length Matter? Testing for Cross-National Effects." *British Journal of Political Science* 30, 217-235.
- Theocharis, Y., Lowe, W., Deth, J. W. van, & García-Albacete, G. 2015. "Using Twitter to Mobilize Protest Action: Online Mobilization Patterns and Action Repertoires in the Occupy Wall Street, Indignados, and Aganaktismenoi Movements." *Information, Communication & Society*, 18(2), 202–220.